

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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THREEPENCE

## WHEN LABOUR IS NOT IN POWER

### Australian Party to fight conscription

From a Correspondent

THE Australian Labour Party will use its Senate majority to defeat any Government legislation authorising compulsory military training, the Party's secretary has stated.

This has caused a sharp reaction and the acting Minister of Defence admits that if the Labour Party opposes the legislation "it might knock the whole defence scheme over."

## Positive peace policy needed

—FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

WHENEVER there had been an armaments race between great powers it had led to war, said Fenner Brockway, MP, in a speech at Ealing Town Hall recently. If the new armaments race upon which we were embarking were not to have a similar result, there must be a positive peace policy.

He hoped that now the immediate danger in the Far East seemed to be easing, the British Labour Government would make an energetic attempt to end the Cold War and would adopt constructive policies, particularly in regard to improving the conditions of the coloured races, that would amount to the beginning of world government.

Mr. Brockway gave it as his opinion that people who were anxious about the dark possibility of a third world war had reason to be thankful that a Labour Government had recently been in power in England.

A Conservative Government, he thought, would have been much more likely to have supported those elements in America that would have risked war with China. Moreover, but for the Labour Government's wise Indian policy, we should not have had the benefit of Mr. Nehru's influence with the Chinese Government, and that had been a factor of immense importance in preventing a spread of the Korean conflict.

## BENEATH A PICTURE...

... of a U.S. Navy fighter launching a new-type rocket bomb on a bridge in South Korea, the American magazine Newsweek printed the following caption recently: "God bless Them Every-one": The "Tiny Tim," named for Charles Dickens's lame lad, was first used in South Korea last week by Navy fighters to knock out a vital Han River bridge. About this 11.75 inch, 1,284-pound aerial rocket, a U.S. Navy spokesman punned: "Tiny Tim has shown that it is neither tiny or timid."

... of Korean children orphaned by the war in Korea, the London Star printed: "Victims of war, these children, without parents or homes, are being cared for by the liberating United Nations troops." (Or were they victims of liberation by the warring United Nations?—Ed.)

## FOR THE RECORD

IN spite of their locker-bulging growth, frozen-food companies still have plenty of room in which to expand. Only 13.4 per cent. of U.S. families now drink frozen orange juice regularly; frozen vegetables amount to only a fraction of the total market. Optimistic frozen-food men think that if grocers would increase their freezer space they could "just about fill the fresh vegetable market."

—Time, Oct. 16, 1950

The "Red Fleet," the journal of the Soviet Navy, today accused the British Government of deliberately allowing the German battleships Scharnhorst and Gneisenau to slip through the English Channel from Brest in 1942 so that the Nazis could use them against Russia.

—Associated Press message from Moscow, Oct. 15, 1950.

## Nehru condemns UN militarism CHINA'S EXCLUSION 'ASTOUNDING'

RE-STATING India's policy at a Delhi Press conference last Monday, Pandit Nehru emphasised the danger that the present United Nations policy was leading it to become an organisation for war rather than for international peace. He appreciated Britain's support for India's efforts to secure China's entry to the Security Council, condemned the refusal of it as unrealistic and an "astounding phenomenon," and thought that if China had been admitted at the proper time the crisis might not have arisen.

Mr. Nehru began with a discussion of the background of Asian nationalism.

Most Asian countries were democratic in outlook, he said, and were opposed to totalitarianism of any kind, but were experiencing "reaction from previous colonial rule," resulting in "a resurgent nationalism, agrarian movements, a desire to get rid of their economic backwardness and a passionate urge for freedom."

### HAD CHINA BEEN ADMITTED...

He maintained the common view that aggression cannot be tolerated but expressed strong disagreement with the methods adopted.

"We supported the Security Council's resolution," he said, "but when it appeared that the scope of operations might extend beyond Korea we felt this was wrong and could not associate ourselves with it."

He had urged even then, in July, that Communist China should be admitted to the UN and that Russia should return to the Security Council.

It was patent that no satisfactory solution in the Far East could be arrived at by ignoring those two Powers, and he thought a great deal of the trouble was due to opposition to China's entry.

"If China had been admitted to the UN at the proper time," he thought, "the crisis in the Far East might not have arisen and events might have taken a different turn."

### AN ASTOUNDING PHENOMENON

"Refusal to recognise this patent fact of a great Asian country, more solid, more unified and centralised than at any time in its previous history, is an astounding phenomenon."

"If the foreign policy of any country is based on an unreality like that, that policy is wrong and will lead to unreal results."

India had had no intention of resigning from support of the UN resolution, but had those Powers been admitted she would have used her influence to urge their co-operation with the Council in finding a Korean solution.

He appreciated the fact that Britain had constantly supported India's effort to secure China's representation on the Council and that in the past few months Britain had positively taken the lead in that matter.

After the collapse of the North Korean armies, he continued, they felt the time had come for an effort at a peaceful solution which could only be based on a unified, independent Korea, and a fresh election under the auspices of Britain.

To cross the 38th Parallel without making such an effort at a peaceful solution appeared to them to be wrong and

### 3d plain, 2d and 1d coloured

The above report is compiled from the daily press. The newspapers vary widely in the length, the extracts they choose, and the colour they give to it.

The "suspect" Daily Worker gives priority to Labour's attack on "Acheson's" militarism. The "honest" Manchester Guardian leads off with—"Roundly Condemning Communism..." as if that were the main object of the speech.

The Times is plain and straightforward but omits Nehru's strongest condemnations, doubtless for lack of space. The rest show a dim view of its news value.

Newspapers are cheap, but the inquisitive reader must buy several in order to obtain some idea of what is happening in the world.

Peace News hopes that the above composite report, the result of wide reading, gets in most of the truth and does justice to Mr. Nehru's intentions.

to involve great risks of conflict on a much wider scale.

It was with that background that they reviewed the two resolutions recently placed before the UN Assembly. With parts of them India was in agreement.

### A WRONG APPROACH

But they did not agree with the immediate crossing of the 38th Parallel by the UN forces.

"This seems to us a wrong approach," he said. "It seems like converting the United Nations into a larger edition of the Atlantic Pact and making it a war organisation more than one devoted to international peace."

Because of their disagreement with that part of the resolution, he added, India could not join the Korean Commission.

Explaining Indo-Pakistan relations, Mr. Nehru referred to India's offer of a "no war" declaration and also the proposals for a joint tribunal on the two specific issues of evacuee property and canal waters.

The dispute on the Rupee exchange rate, he said, was in the hands of the International Monetary Fund, and the fourth major issue, regarding Kashmir, was before the Security Council.

## Government is told—

### CEASE FIRE IN KOREA

### CLOSE USA's BASES HERE

THE Government has been called upon to secure a cease-fire in Korea and the withdrawal of all American forces from Britain in statements issued by the Society of Friends and the Peace Pledge Union respectively.

#### Quaker's message

THE message sent to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary by the influential Society of Friends (Quakers), was drawn up by The Meeting for Sufferings, their executive body. It was drafted at the request of the Meeting by Lady Marian Parnoor and T. Edmund Harvey.

The message reads:

The religious Society of Friends is seriously concerned with the present situation in Korea, which may either lead to the spread of destructive hostilities or prove the opportunity for an immediate approach to peace.

We appeal to H.M. Government to use its good offices to obtain an immediate cease-fire in Korea so that negotiations for a peaceful settlement may begin as soon as possible. We believe it to be essential that action by the United Nations should be lifted above the sphere of military power.

We welcome the decision of the General Assembly that a Commission shall be established to bring relief and rehabilitation to devastated Korea, realising that it is by acts of good will that a peaceable spirit may prevail.

#### PPU Anniversary Gathering

It has been the PPU's custom to have a gathering of some kind every year near the anniversary of the death of its founder Dick Sheppard. This year we propose to hold a gathering similar to the successful one held last year in the crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, which the Vicar is kindly allowing us to use again.

The gathering will commence at 3 in the afternoon on Sunday, Nov. 5, and further details will be announced in Peace News. In the meantime please book the date. S.M.

## GERMAN PACIFISTS DEMAND PLEBISCITE ON REARMAMENT

PROTESTS against re-militarisation are increasing in Germany in spite of Dr. Adenauer's efforts and outside political pressure in favour of re-armament.

In line with the Hamburg declaration printed in Peace News last week, Stuttgart pacifists have formed a committee in co-operation with women's, disabled soldiers', and religious organisations and have already collected many thousands of signatures to a demand for a plebiscite.

The Committee's action is made difficult by the usual counter-propaganda which attempts to discredit every peace-effort by declaring it "Communist-inspired" before investigating its origin.

### Arms will not reduce danger

The German pacifist's declaration—drawn up by members of the War Resisters' International, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, World Government Movement and the German Peace Society, reads:

"The undersigned are convinced that a remilitarisation of Germany will neither reduce nor avert any dangers—from whatever side it may arise. The economic resources of Germany should not be diverted for the purpose of rearmament. They should be used for the improvement of living standards; first of all to serve social justice by helping the victims of the last war.

"We demand therefore, that the Bundesregierung (Government) should reject any plans concerning the re-establishment of a German army in any form but should pursue a strict policy of reconciliation and reduction of tension by peaceful means.

"We demand that the issue of re-militarisation should not be decided without a plebiscite of the German people.

The petition is being organised from Rosenbergstrasse 133, Stuttgart-West, by Rosel Lohse-Link.

Hastings Labour Party has been challenged by a local pacifist to debate a motion "That conscription is contrary to the principles of Labour."



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## "REALISM"

**T**HEORETICALLY, it is possible that we cannot be writing this column because we are deemed to be physically obliterated, along with the whole of this parish.

We deduce this possible termination of our career from the apparently unobstructed, low-level passage of heavy bombers to and fro over our residence one night last week.

But before our readers mourn our passing, we would say, wait: there is just a chance we may not be dead.

The 9-day air exercises which ended last Sunday, have, we read, "given the attacking and defending forces a chance to try out new techniques and tactics."

But, adds the report, "it will take about three months to discover how the rival forces fared, whether defences prevailed against a varied and skilful day and night attack, or 'whether the bombers were able to reach their targets without crippling losses.'"

We must therefore await the news of our fate for three months. You who have tears may prepare to shed them, but not now. Wait till after Christmas. For by that time those bombers may have been deemed to have been brought down on someone else's parish.

Moreover, there is another loophole for our escape. We must not forget Civil Defence. And even if our residence is razed to the ground, we may still be one of the tiny percentage of brands whom brown paper, the kitchen table and a quartz-fibre fountain-pen-pocket radio-activity-detecting electroscope may have plucked from the burning.

Apart, however, from such purely personal speculations, we wonder what possible interest, other than technical, these manoeuvres are expected to have for the public.

Suppose, for example, after their three-months' calculations, the experts decide that the "new techniques and tactics" of the attackers proved more effective than those of the defenders. Will they disclose the fact to the public? And if so, what effect will the disclosure have? Will it engender further defeatism and the belief that the public are more defenceless than ever, or will it create a new determination for further sacrifices?

We know of course, that whatever the experts decide, all the public will get is a quite meaningless assurance that the tests were very encouraging.

But all thinking people know quite well that these air exercises have done nothing at all but confirm the fact that in the next war the civilian population will be more defenceless than ever, and that the number of men, women and children who will be blown, crushed or burned to death will be greater than ever.

We know, without waiting for that verdict, that our defences have not defended us. And we know they never can. We know there is no form of military defence possible, except the mass extermination of all potential enemy populations now, before anybody has time to start a war.

It is characteristic of the impotence of modern statesmanship in nearly every country today that they are devoting steadily increasing time, thought and material resources to a task which everyone knows before hand cannot succeed.

They know that defence cannot defend, yet "defence" is the priority national activity all over the world.

They know that a victorious war against Communism would result in the spread of Communism, yet they are ready to sacrifice all further social progress to preparation for a war against Communism.

This whole programme of stupid, suicidal futility is typical of an age which boasts of its unprecedented material resources and places efficiency among the cardinal virtues.

It is, in fact, an unparalleled example of inefficiency. They are spending all this energy on what they know beforehand cannot succeed.

And these are the people who call pacifists unrealistic and visionary.

We are not yet converted to the view that another world war is inevitable. But we could wish that the old tag—"Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad,"—had never been uttered. It is disturbing; for the pre-condition for destruction has obviously been achieved.

Unless of course, we can think of a way of dissociating ourselves from our rulers.

**T**HOUGH not an inspiring broadcaster, Mr. Attlee can speak at times with a quiet conviction that carries as much weight with the listener by the fireside as far subtler oratory. But he needs a heartening theme whose persuasiveness can make up for the matter-of-factness of his level tones.

On Sunday night he had, in Civil Defence, a gloomy theme to expound, and the only thing that could have saved it from complete unpalatability was a slight infusion of drama, an emphasis on the urgency of the position. That alert and rather ordinary voice is, however, no vehicle for drama, and the effect of enunciating a very bleak proposition so imperturbably was not merely depressing—it was uncanny.

One was reminded of the broadcasts of the first few days of the last war, when macabre warnings were being meted out to the bewildered public between organ recitals by Sandy Macpherson.

### Political paralysis

**T**HE Civil Defence recruitment campaign is a tragic move. But just at the moment there would seem to be one fact more disturbing than the campaign itself; and that is that a British Prime Minister can discuss it in the unemphatic terms which would have been appropriate in a talk on the Highway Code or the licensing laws.

In the very grave situation in which we, and the rest of the world, find ourselves is there no one among our political leaders conscious of the tragic gulf between the things that are being done and the things that ought to be done, and capable of expressing with vigour his determination to stop the slither-back into war conditions?

Mr. Attlee, it seems, is not, and the prospect of exposing this country to the effects of atomic bombs in no way disturbs his equilibrium.

### Trying to lull the public

**M**R. CHUTER EDE, who followed up the Prime Minister's broadcast with a more emphatic recruiting appeal, has said that the Government will use every means to bring home the pressing need for large numbers to join Civil Defence at once.

Casualties, he says, can be greatly reduced by carefully-planned civil defence measures. Defence against the atom bomb is possible, he declares, and "in fact the atom bomb, far from rendering Civil De-

## Thoughts of a conqueror

The author was one of those who took part in Royal Air Force raids on the Eder Dam and other targets in Germany during World War II. He is now working in Germany, trying in some way to make up for what he had done as an airman in wartime.

**I**N 1943 we bombed Hamburg several times, sped on our way by the Padre's insistence upon the righteousness of our cause. In 1946 I revisited Hamburg and talked with some of those whom we had bombed.

*I walked today, in the echo of death,  
in the rubble's mocking void;  
Where gaunt festering shells of a dead  
metropolis*

*stood stark against the azure of the  
sky:*

*And from a crack, where two distorted  
beams*

*gaped, high in a wall above,  
a shaft of sunlight filtered through  
and fell, in a pool, at my feet.*

*And, of a sudden, before me there,  
I saw, in the sunlight's shimmering  
shaft,*

*a horrid phantasmagoric host—  
a holocaust of twisted girders  
and twitching dismembered limbs—  
ridiculously writhing silhouettes  
against the fires' lurid glow.*

*And over all, a pall of burning oil  
and the phosphorus's suffocating fumes  
enshrouded the living and the dead...*

*Above the shrieking of children,  
terrified,*

*and a dying woman's rasping moan  
the Padre spoke:—*

*"This is your greatest triumph, for  
you have brought*

*the winged visitation of retribution  
to the unrighteous, and you have  
laid low the arrogance of a second  
Nineveh!"*

*But I, in answer, said:—*

*"We saw no arrogant city nor any  
living thing,*

*fence useless, has made the need of it  
greater than ever."*

But he does not repeat the disclosures already made of the scale of the destruction of life and property which would be inevitably caused by atomic bombing, even with a civil defence scheme in operation.

### The bankruptcy of statesmanship

**N**EITHER Mr. Attlee nor Mr. Ede admits that the re-armament and Civil Defence campaigns represent the bankruptcy of statesmanship and that they have dealt a terrible blow to the stability of the Welfare State.

But that is the position. They must know that this country faces the menace of atomic warfare because she and her ally

### THERE MUST BE SOME BETTER WAY

*In a recent issue of the American Magazine, Newsweek, war correspondent Harold Lavine described the return to base of the survivors from an American assault on a hill-top position held by the North Koreans.*

And so the survivors came back down the hill and across the valley and up on to the ridge—the unwounded carrying the wounded—if you can say that just because a man's face wasn't shot away or his belly ripped open, he was unwounded. They came back slowly, like men in a dream, but carrying their weapons with them...

They were heartsick and bewildered. They had landed in Korea with such self-confidence: They were fighting men. And their first action down on the southern front had only heightened their cockiness: After the first few hours they had fought the way Marines are supposed to fight, they had won, and their losses had been light.

And now, God, this!

One of the kids walked over to a correspondent and said:

"I wish you'd do something for me. I wish you'd tell the folks back home that there must be some better way of settling arguments than this."

have used American possession of the bomb as a tomahawk to swing around the heads of the Communist countries. As a result not Russia alone, but America and Britain as well, are trembling at the prospect of suffering atomic explosions.

Western and Eastern Powers are tied hand and foot in the moral inconsistencies of a mistaken armaments policy, and no one seems to have the power or inclination to

*but imagination, sanity's hostage,  
saw instead, far, far below,  
a dark pattern, vague and insubstantial.  
Orange fires coursed through it and  
above it hung*

*a myriad of cascading lights, cascading  
greens, cascading reds,  
magentas and whites, like the festive  
trimmings on*

*a million Christmas trees.  
Tentacles of searchlights clawed the  
sky around:*

*On every side, splashes of sudden fire,  
tracer and sinking balls of flame  
quicken the heaven's sin-black vault.  
Delicately manipulated instruments  
advised*

*the earthwards hurtling of our bombs.  
We turned and fled, our only thought  
the food and rest awaiting us; demand-  
ing nought*

*but the eastern horizon's rosy tinge,  
the mist-wreathed meadows' fantastic  
swirls,  
and a glimpse of Lincoln's friendly  
spires."*

*"Please, Sir,"*

*a timorous treble broke the spell,  
a little flaxen-headed girl,  
wan, blue-eyed, one of the Padre's  
'fiendish horde,'*

*approached, with an armful of  
blackened wood.*

*"Are you my daddy? Mummy said  
he'll come some day and bring us bread,  
and we shall never hunger more!"*

*But I, the glorious conqueror,  
before my vanquished enemy,  
could only stand and shake my head.*

N.F.B.

make an effort to save them before it is too late.

Is it mere Utopianism to hold that any effort, however fraught with risks, to reconcile the opposing sides in this world line-up would be preferable to the utterly negative and barren schemes now afoot to divert millions of our wealth and the energy of many thousands of our citizens to preparing bigger and bigger explosions while vainly trying to protect ourselves from their effects?

### Victors go tough—as usual

**M**ANOEUVRINGS in Korea and at Lake Success demonstrate once more the tragic consequences of the arms method.

The doctrine, on which the North Koreans were last June declared aggressors, that the 38th Parallel was a frontier has been jettisoned in the scramble of United Nations troops over the Parallel to clinch the victory on North Korean soil; and declarations in favour of a properly-elected Government for the whole of Korea, are in danger of being sabotaged by the Syngman Rhee Government, taking advantage of the chaos that the war has caused.

In New York the victory of United Nations arms has appeared at first to make the chance of amicable talks between America, Britain and Russia more likely than for months; for Russia is conscious of a weakened position and is being much more conciliatory.

But the opportunity comes into view only to recede again, since the old axiom of power politics, which decrees that victors shall concede nothing, comes into operation and it is now America who is pursuing a "tough" policy at the Council table.

How fascinating the debates at Lake Success must be to anyone who forgets that while the stakes in the elaborate game are the lives of many millions of ordinary people.

### Ray of hope from Truman?

**I**T would not be wise, however, to despair altogether of a peaceful outcome of the present impasse. For there are spiritual forces on God's side which can break the vicious circle that forms when slaughter breaks out.

The intentions of the Western Powers to rehabilitate Korea are to be warmly welcomed, and it is to be noted that after an interview with General MacArthur, Mr. Truman has defined the problem as helping the Koreans to do the job of "spiritual and material rehabilitation" for themselves, so that "they can do it better than anyone else can do it for them."

Also to be welcomed is the speech which Mr. Churchill gave at Copenhagen last week. While a pacifist cannot unite wholeheartedly with the sentiments of the eminent war leader, there is much wisdom in his emphasis on the necessity of looking ahead to the establishment of an effective World Government.

It is one of the political curiosities of the present time—though there are clear reasons for it—that the Conservative leadership should be more conscious of the coming revolution in world affairs, and of the necessity of planning towards it, than the Labour leaders appear to be.

### "Laying on of hands"

**A** POPULAR American columnist has recently suggested that there are four things we can do with our hands:

- (i) wring them in despair;
- (ii) fold them in apathy;
- (iii) put them in our pockets for safe keeping;
- (iv) lay them on a job that needs doing;
- (v) put them in our pockets to pull out a coin, or write a cheque for the PPU!

We must not give way to the temptation to use either (i), (ii) or (iii), and the suggestion challenges each of us as to what we are really doing with our hands.

So many hands have been distributing the new Civil Defence leaflet that we have 45,000 in the last four weeks. We have been very glad to send these free of cost, but the printer's bill is already over £70. Will any reader send me £100 for leaflets?

Many hands make light work; and many hands put into pockets could make light work of raising all the money we need. Will every reader please use his hands in some way which will further the cause of pacifism?

STUART MORRIS  
General Secretary.

Amount aimed at in 1950: £650.  
Total received to date: £420 7s. 3d.

I most gratefully acknowledge an anonymous donation of £25 from "Civil-de-Fiddlesticks."

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.



## NEWS IN BRIEF

THE next Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International will meet in Germany from July 27-31 at the Kant Hochschule, Braunschweig (British Zone), by invitation of the German movement, the International Headquarters has announced.

A letter sent to all the sections says that the Fredsvenners Hjaelparbeide (Danish Friends of Peace Relief Work) have a centre in the vicinity and are looking forward to meeting war resisters from other countries.

This early notice is given for the benefit of those wishing to make arrangements for next summer. Further details of the Conference will be announced in Peace News when released by WRI Headquarters, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

The Minister of Education, Mr. Tomlinson has appointed a committee to enquire into "the medical, educational and social problems referring to maladjusted children." Chairman of the committee is Mr. J. E. A. Underwood, the Ministry's chief medical officer, and the 15 members include 4 women.

"Gandhi Rooms" were opened by the India League during the celebrations for the Mahatma's birthday anniversary at 47 Strand, London, recently.

These rooms, which were opened by the High Commissioner for India, are dedicated as a humble tribute and memorial and contain the nucleus of a collection of Gandhi's writings.

Eighty people attended the first autumn meeting of the Surrey Area of the Peace Pledge Union on Oct. 1 when Vera Brittain reported on the World Pacifist Meeting in India. It was estimated that some 30 or more of those attending were non-pacifists.

## WEST OF ENGLAND CONFERENCE

## Oppression in Africa: A major world problem

The Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Society of Friends jointly sponsored a two day conference at Swarthmore Settlement, Plymouth, on October 7 and 8. It was a well attended gathering and people came from many parts of Devon and Cornwall. Reginald Reynolds was the speaker.

TAKING as his subject on the Saturday, "The Constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi," Reginald Reynolds said that Gandhi had initiated a five-point programme for the uplift of Indian society:

Campaign for untouchables; recognition of women's part in society; opposition to the opium and liquor traffic; revival of village industries and communal unity.

At first sight the programme seemed to have little relevance to the larger issue of Indian political independence but Gandhi had realised that his primary need was to produce a body of workers inspired by his ideals and trained in the art of co-operation. Not until this had been achieved was there any possibility of success for his campaign of non-violent non-co-operation with the British Government for Indian independence.

## New teaching method

The speaker said that a significant outcome of Gandhi's work was the Basic Education Movement in India today, which was nothing less than an attempt to revitalise society. Western ideas had produced a small number of Indians educated on Western methods but had left the great mass of the population untouched. Gandhi had therefore based his new teaching method on the essential needs of existence so that it became an integral and related part of the whole community life.

Basic Education was a process of learning through doing. There was nowhere better than the schools for the pioneers of this new method to start—so the child's education began with the production of things for use—food, clothes, etc.

The necessary academic education was introduced through the crafts taught at the school. Thus the child learnt to understand, respect and appreciate skilled work.

Basic Education was a method of co-operation throughout—in the satisfaction of common needs and the organisation of economic life. The principle of co-operation thus came to be accepted as the basis of society.

## Not following Gandhi

On the second day Reginald Reynolds spoke of his visit to India for the World Pacifist Conference.

Pacifists in India found themselves in a paradoxical situation—they were welcomed and honoured by the highest authorities as friends and followers of Gandhi, yet they found themselves in a country only too ready to find excuses for not doing what Gandhi would have wished.

Some of the delegates had arrived in India only a few days before the execution of Gandhi's assassins—a black beginning—and Richard Gregg had at once gone on a mission of intervention to the Governor-General. That mission had failed and the speaker felt it was a terrible defeat and rejection by India of the things Gandhi had stood for. Yet it was not only India's failure, but the failure of all of us.

Reginald Reynolds felt the World Pacifist Conference took on too much and had been unable to deal in sufficient detail with every

subject discussed. Nevertheless the Conference had been of tremendous value.

The Conference had met first at Santiniketan, once the home of the poet Tagore, and then after the delegates had had an opportunity of seeing some of the work of Gandhi, reassembled later at Sevagram, the ashram which was Gandhi's home during the later years of his life.

The travelling was an important phase of the Conference because much of Gandhi's work was carried on in small centres and therefore to understand his unique contribution it was not merely necessary to discuss it but to see it in action.

## Challenge of Africa

The speaker felt that two of the outstanding personalities of the Conference had been Dr. Mordecai Johnson and Michael Scott. Dr. Johnson was Negro President of Howard University (Washington)—a man of very great depth and a remarkable speaker.

Michael Scott had put the position of the black people of S. Africa and spoke of their terrible oppression under their white rulers. It was one of the major problems a world pacifist movement ought to be considering. How could we apply the things learnt in India to the salvation of these people of Africa?

Reginald Reynolds said that India had been declared a Republic the night before they left—the long struggle for independence had ended. But now S. Africa called.

Every white man living should feel the burden of the guilt of Imperialism. We should strive for the emancipation and complete freedom of all the subservient downtrodden peoples.

## Christian Scientists and Peace

From a correspondent

THE Annual Meeting of the Peace Association of Christian Scientists was held at Friends House, London, on Sept. 16. A large percentage of the membership was present, and all were greatly encouraged by the fact that definite progress, greater activity and increased membership were reported.

Witness for liberty of conscience was affirmed as well as the conviction that the main purpose of all collective expressions of Christianity is the overcoming of all evil by means of good only, in obedience to Jesus' Sermon on the Mount.

Loyalty and love towards "The First Church of Christ, Scientist," was expressed, though it needs to be clearly understood that PACS, an association of sincere and earnest students of the Bible and of "Science and Health with key to the Scriptures" by Mary Baker Eddy, many of whom are Church members having received class teaching, is not an agency of "The Mother Church."

Further information concerning this association can be obtained from: the Secretary, Mrs. M. M. Hyde, 37 Holden Park Road, Southborough, Kent.

## Peace meetings told:

## "EXAMINE THE CAUSES OF WAR"

WE are running on from day to day, year to year and decade to decade without really probing the question of the fundamental cause of war," warned Mr. Wilfred Wellock, former Labour member for Stourbridge, speaking at a Gloucester International Week meeting on Oct. 7.

Nothing but a thorough probing of the fundamentals of Communism and of war considered Mr. Wellock, would enable results to be achieved. The present tendency was to make only a superficial examination.

We were apt to regard the superficial causes, such as Stalin, Hitler, and in 1914, the Kaiser, as being the real causes.

The Government believed that only by great military measures that Russia could be stayed, and eventually prevented from entering on a third world war.

That statement, a repetition of what had been said for the past 30 or 40 years, was not true.

Speaking a week earlier to the Huddersfield Peace Pledge Union Group, Wilfred Wellock said that in spite of having the highest standard of living in the world there was a greater fear of Communism in America than in any other country, and that was that high standard of living which, on the one hand, and displaying greedy extravagance to others who now seek to emulate it on the other hand, that would cause civilisation to collapse.

To illustrate this he told how the average annual consumption of steel per person in America was 1,200lbs. compared with the 600 and 200-300lbs. respectively of Britons and other Europeans.

It was estimated, he said, that if only half of the world consumed petrol at the same rate as America supplies would be used within six years. Britain's paper shortage was a reflection of papers like the Sunday New York Times which runs to 156 pages. The 35,000,000 motor cars in the USA suggests one car for every four persons.

dreams of the early Socialists

He also touched on the situation in Britain, where in spite of the introduction of Socialism we still had neither the society we desire nor prospects of peace. Early Socialists like George Bernard Shaw and Sidney Webb had believed that Socialism would lead to a three or even two-hour day and an abundance for all. Socialism was to end the conflict between nations and lead to peace.

Other pioneers of the William Morris school had never believed that Utopia would result from increased machine productivity on its own, and if it was divorced from spiritual progress would spell disaster.

In answering the question of how civilisation could be saved the speaker said he believed that possibly India alone had the answer to our problems. He had great faith in the teachings of Gandhi who wanted to build up a civilisation of peace and get away from commercial values and the modern multiplication of desires.

In the Gandhi ashrams the principle is being applied that all education should commence in creative work, children are taught to spin yarn as young as five years of age and to build their own homes.

He further believed that nationalism and localism could be good things. By believing in localism one was able to believe in "Yorkshire," in "Lancashire," and in one's own village.

He contended that it was only in small units that the individual counted as such and suggested that in all our every day affairs we should have the opportunity to experience responsibilities, creative opportunities and be in a position to establish vital contacts with the society without.

## STEPS TO PEACE RECALL CONFERENCE

From STUART MORRIS  
General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union

ALL readers of Peace News are cordially invited to attend the Peace Pledge Union's "Steps to Peace" Recall Conference at Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, on Saturday, November 4 at 2 p.m.

The Steps to Peace scheme was inaugurated at an interesting conference held a year ago, out of which six commissions were formed. These were intended to group together pacifists who were particularly concerned with the way in which our message applied in politics, the creation of a new social order, in religion, education, science, and through the application of non-violence.

These commissions have been meeting regularly and each of them will report to the Recall Conference, after which there will be a general discussion. This will cover the first session from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. At 6 o'clock the commissions will meet separately to discuss the continuance of their work.

A tea will be served at 5 p.m., but only to those who send 2s. for a ticket in advance to the General Secretary, Dick Sheppard, 10, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

We are very anxious to enlarge the scope of the commissions, and anyone attending the Conference who is not already attached to one or other of these groups, will be welcome to join the commission which most appeals to him.

## FOR TOTAL DISARMAMENT

At the first Annual Meeting of the Toldas Group, held in Liverpool on Oct. 6, it was agreed that the aims of the Group are:

"To advocate a completely new approach to international affairs, based on good will, with total unilateral disarmament as an essential beginning; to work out ways of changing public opinion in this direction in the shortest possible time; and to prepare the way for a large scale organisation."

An amendment advocating support for an International Peace Force was rejected as being outside the scope of the Group.

Membership is open to all who support total unilateral disarmament, whether pacifist in the individual sense or not. Secretary is Dr. A. Litherland, 5 Parkway, Great Crosby, Liverpool.

There are unconfirmed reports that uranium deposits have been found on Virgin Gorda, one of the British owned Virgin Islands, by an American.



## The coming defeat of the Psychopaths

THE latest number of "One World," the organ of the National Peace Council, contains an extraordinarily interesting article by Dr. Alex Comfort entitled "The Individual and World Peace."

Dr. Comfort has examined the traditional sociological interpretation of the phenomena called war and has found it wanting. Observational research, he says, has shown that the two most important acts of aggression in recent years, the German pogroms and the Allied policy of indiscriminate bombardment, turn out to be "the work of individual psychopaths in office."

This is in direct contradiction to the older argument that the will to aggression arises from the frustration of positive emotions in condensed urban societies.

There is hope in this argument because "psychopaths in office" require an acquiescent mob, and if individuals in the mob rebel in an active or even in a passive sense, the autocratic bureaucracy breaks down. This is true even if the form rebellion takes is that the individual is unable to "take" the position in which he finds himself and "becomes ill with perfectly genuine gastric ulcers as a result of a loss of morale and a growing psychosomatic ill-ness."

"One World" for August-September also contains a report of the meeting recently held by the NPC on Far Eastern problems, and one on the "Human Crisis in Africa" which was addressed by the Rev. Michael Scott.

## INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Jungle Journey, by Ethel Mannin. Jarro Interview with India, by Margaret Bourke-White.

TOO little is known in Britain of India and Pakistan since independence, and it is good to find two more books about these countries.

Ethel Mannin's "Jungle Journey" is the less ambitious. It is a revised travel-diary of a journey over India and Pakistan in the first part of last year.

It should be useful to anyone who wants to know about the hazards of touring the sub-continent, and there is some lively description of tiger-hunting (Miss Mannin is on the tiger's side). There are some amusing incidents—one would give much to have seen the effect of Miss Mannin (in a dressing gown) sternly informing some convivial Hindus at 3 a.m. that their jollifications were making sleep impossible. They were quiet after that, she says. No wonder!

Although "Interview with India" is written in a personal, informal way, one feels and appreciates Margaret Bourke-White's single-minded devotion to reporting her subject.

She describes the terrifying riots of 1946 in Calcutta; the agonising migration of Hindus and Muslims at the time of the partition of the Punjab; the life of workers in Delhi mills and in south Indian tanneries; and the incredible extravagance of Indian princes. One learns that trade union leaders are still put in prison, and that civil liberties are about as much respected as they were under the British régime.

If anyone wants to know what India today is like to live in, there can be few more vivid descriptions than the one this book gives.

Moreover, it is clear that Miss Bourke-White is concerned with India for its own sake. So many reports, especially American ones, are interested only in the question, Will India go Communist? And this starts them off on the wrong foot.

It is useful to remember Miss Bourke-White's comment on the Indian Communists she had met, that "the needs of their underprivileged countrymen are so compelling that they are trying to choose the most direct channel for their efforts, without being side-tracked by the high-echelon rivalries which have racked the other political parties and diverted their vitality from basic issues."—Although the savage conflicts within the Indian Communist movement are not a hopeful commentary on this. Neither is the Communist Party's judicious failure to make any collective stand against the religious nationalism which burst out at the beginning of this year, bringing India and Pakistan to the brink of war, and causing terrible suffering to the people of Bengal and Assam.

The book contains some shrewd accounts of Indian and Pakistani political and industrial leaders. The author analyses the perplexing association of Gandhi with that none-too-scrupulous capitalist G. D. Birla, and reflects on Sarojini Naidu's famous remark: "If only Gandhi knew how much it costs to keep him in poverty."

Margaret Bourke-White has a flair for detecting under-currents and "inside stories," as when a conversation with Sardar Patel's daughter yields her a glimpse of a long-standing cordiality between the Sardar and the princes, at a time when Nehru "was busily urging that people's rule replace that of the Maharajahs."

Miss Bourke-White's interviews are sometimes, indeed, made to bear a greater weight of interpretation than they ought to. There are signs of an inadequate knowledge of Indian history, and the author's shrewdness does not always fill the gap.

One might, for example, get the impression from her book that Jinnah suddenly broke with the Congress in the mid-thirties, and that his later career was in absolute contrast to what he thought and did throughout the greater part of his life. And it seems a bit romantic to attribute this "break with his past" to sorrow at the loss of a beloved wife.

Not that Miss Bourke-White leaves it at that. Her reporter's conscience always compels her to present as many sides of the case as she can see. But it would be unwise for anyone to form opinions about what is happening in India and Pakistan from her book alone. Pakistanis in particular are certain to consider that she is prejudiced against them, and Richard Symonds' recent book "The Making of Pakistan" is therefore probably as good an antidote as any. As a lively pictorial supplement to more thorough if less attractive studies, however, "Interview with India" is excellent. Both books have photographs. "Interview with India" is worth seeing for its photographs alone.

GEOFFREY CARNALL

## "THE POOR"

Point Four. Helping To Develop Half The Association; Peacefinders Series, No.

WRITING on economic problems which are compact of all kinds of political implications, in an unambiguous style which is yet intelligible to a layman public, is a task which seems to be beyond the powers of most professional economists.

Miss Susan Strange achieves just this in her pamphlet for the United Nations Association on Mr. Truman's Fourth Point. She has discussed not only what has been done so far to implement the plan, but also the social, political and economic implications of any such scheme with admirable terseness and clarity.

"A bold new programme for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas... A co-operative enterprise in which all nations work together through the United Nations and its specialised Agencies... A world-wide effort for the achievement of peace, plenty and freedom."

That is the Fourth Point as expressed by President Truman in his inaugural address on beginning his second term of office in January, 1949.

Of course the idea was being entertained long before that, and was embodied in the Philadelphia Charter of the ILO (International Labour Office) and the constitutions of FAO, WHO and other UN agencies, besides being implicit in the Atlantic Charter, but it did not become a "programme" until Truman's pronouncement of aims.

The object of Point Four plans is to raise people's living standards of living above a minimum "Plimsoll line." But the task of raising living standards throughout the under-developed parts of the world is a tremendous one.

What is needed, Miss Strange points out, is "a steady, growing tide of funds into those countries from outside." This was provided in an earlier stage of Capitalism

disease and malnutrition will live, and the population, already growing too fast, will overtake the extra wealth which has been injected.

Miss Strange says there is some truth in this but counters the argument that "the Malthusian problem is merely one of time. The more mature countries can help with capital and know-how, the less chance there is of their efforts being wasted. Hungry mouths are an argument for stronger Point Four policies, not for none at all."

Political objections to the plans, the imputation of their being disguised dollar imperialism or an American effort to outbid Russia in the cold war, are also dealt with summarily in her opening remarks.

In a resumé of what is already being done, Miss Strange points out that America is not entirely without knowledge in the administration of such schemes; valuable experience has already been gained in South America.

Putting the emphasis in the right place she says: "Although money is important, the immediate bottleneck in many under-developed countries at the moment is one of technical resources of manpower and know-how. Without these an investment that is

## CRISIS IN JAPAN

JAPAN today is faced with a choice between two alternatives: one is to have cut-throat competition as in the past; the other is to find ways and means of integrating Japanese recovery with the continued well being of other nations.

This is how the pamphlet entitled "Crisis in Japan" sees the situation, and it realises that the present position has arisen as a result of Japanese history.

Japan emerged as an industrialised country without having overthrown a feudal form of government. General MacArthur, as virtual dictator through being America's representative on the United States dominated Allied Control Council, has merely super-imposed upon this liberal ideas which have not changed the former structure of Japanese life in any decisive or permanent way, and ineffective practice designed to promote private rather than State monopolistic competition.

The danger is that under these circumstances the Japanese economy is regaining its pre-war potential, while the conditions of production and marketing remained unchanged, and the American authorities are encouraging this process.

Seeing Japan as a bulwark against Communism in the Near Far East and in view of Japan's particular economic problems (the strangulating pressure of population on the land) what else are the Americans to do?

The Union for Democratic control realises that the problem is a difficult one but maintains: "if the growing Japanese demand for expanding trade with China and the rest of the Near East can be met, then the problem of Japanese recovery and Japanese competition with the West, can be moved a long way towards solution."

As an initial step the UDC suggests a meeting of the Far Eastern Commission should be called at an early date.

\* Crisis in Japan. Published by the Union for Democratic Control, 1s. 6d.

## OUR PAST

A Social and Economic History of Britain 1760-1950, by Dr. Pauline Gregg, Ph.D. BSc. Harrap, 15s.

The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette, by J. W. Robertson Scott, Oxford University Press, 25s.

WITHIN the compass of 550 pages Dr. Pauline Gregg has provided a comprehensive survey of a period which patriots should not neglect to study—namely the period immediately following the industrial revolution. The chapter dealing with Chartism contains many salutary lessons and some encouragement for those engaged in the struggle for peace.

Robertson Scott's book, dedicated "To the precious memory of all Editors who gave up their posts and salaries for their opinions," is beautiful both in production and style, and a fitting memorial to the sorely-missed spirit of "The Pall Mall Gazette."

## WITH US

made later might easily be frittered away in unessentials."

The connection between Point Four and the UN proposals for the maintenance of full employment is examined, and a quotation from the UN report on Full Employment shows how the two are complementary.

It does not do to forget that the level of employment in the US depends on maintaining a large volume of exports, however, and if these cannot be obtained in the ordinary course of trade, it may well be that such schemes as Lend-lease, Marshall Aid and their heir, the development of under-developed areas through the export of U.S. capital is the only way of averting domestic disaster in the United States.

In the 1930's this was called "exporting the unemployment problem"; it now goes under a more grandiloquent title, but it is the same thing.

While it may be called dollar imperialism by the Americo-phobes, and "Yanks" may be blessed as peace bringers by sentimental Americo-phils, this point should be remembered, that the States are saving their own necks as well as everyone else's by this kind of action.

In any case, as the pamphlet makes quite clear, the scheme is intended to be operated by the United Nations as an international effort—vide Mr. Truman's own statement—and funds for development contributed by all the industrialised countries in the world through a central bank.

"It seems hardly worth saying that if our Point policies can help deal with the related problems of world trade and unemployment, the chances of world peace would be brightened."

Maybe. But it is certainly worthwhile to say "the progress of the cold war in the last two years makes it more and more apparent that the 'danger areas' are just those under-developed areas. It is the poverty becomes desperate that the terrible sequences of violence seems less terrible. The risk of an accidental Third World War erupting in the Far East would be less if the Asians themselves could see a promise of progress in the future."

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## Pacifist Portraits

No. 15



F. J. WILLIAMS

IF your atlas is a good one you may find the little island of Samarai off the south-eastern tip of Papua, the former British New Guinea. It is 60 acres in extent, some of it hilly, and you can walk round it in half an hour.

Hardly the place, you will say, from which to carry on a world-wide propaganda, and yet in the years between the wars when Fred J. Williams, MB, BSc, was Government Medical Officer there, he made the spot a busy centre for a correspondence which he carried on with folk in nearly every country in the world, mostly in Esperanto. He also distributed from this remote island literature on peace, Quakerism and on Dr. Zamenhof's international language.

Energetic, pertinacious Fred Williams, inveterate propagandist for many good causes, seems to like out of the way spots on the earth from which to work—though at intervals he returns for a spell to Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane or some other city. Born at Moonie Ponds, Victoria, Australia, on Jan. 12, 1895, Frederick J. Williams was educated at Wesley College, Melbourne, and at Melbourne University. As an alert young man he spent most of his free time as a scoutmaster and Sunday School teacher, and in trying to interest people in prohibition and Esperanto. He also found by the time he was 19 that he was a pacifist, and he continues to hold that faith today as tenaciously as he has ever held it.

Already keen on missionary work, young Fred Williams, soon after completing his medical courses, went out to the New Hebrides, those little known Pacific islands, which are a British and French condominium, where he acted as *locum tenens* for the Presbyterian missionary on furlough. This piece of work accomplished, he and his wife offered their services to the London Missionary Society, and together they went to the northern area of China where they worked for a few years, mostly in the Peking area. While he was in China he read about the newly-formed War Resisters' International in a copy of the London Friend. He got into touch with the late H. Runham Brown, and WRI and other pacifist literature has usually been included in literature he has distributed ever since.

One convert through this propaganda has been the Rev. Frank Colclough, the founder, and first editor, of PN's Australian contemporary, The Peacemaker, now the organ of the Federal Pacifist Council of Australia.

It was after their term in China that the Williams went to live on the island of Samarai, already referred to. Isolated as he was, except for his official visits to the vessels which regularly touched there, Dr. Williams nevertheless realised that, as he once said, "I could roam the earth" through his world-wide circle of correspondents.

However, half a dozen years at one time in such circumstances he felt were sufficient and in the middle 1930s, Fred Williams and his wife, the latter a Southampton woman by birth, came to Europe for a visit and for further study. During this visit Fred Williams met most of the leading pacifists of the Old World, took part in the WRI Conference in Denmark and in the International Esperantist Convention in Warsaw, and, on his way home, went to the Friends World Conference at Philadelphia in 1937 to which he and his wife were Australian delegates.

When two years later war broke out in Europe, the spare, keen youth, who had begun his active career in the New Hebrides was a stoutish, active, cheerful man, giving

his "missionary service," as the Chief Medical Officer of Papua and as a member of both Legislative Council and of the Executive Council of the Government of Papua.

The Pacific area was not directly involved in the War till after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour. Fred Williams, though, it is true, with circumspection, continued his world-wide correspondence as far as he could. Not surprisingly, however, some people became a little suspicious of him and he came under suspicion of "subversive activities" in some quarters and warnings of prison were not wanting.

However the Authorities were not all suspicious, and this pacifist doctor has a cosy and disarming way which turns opponents into friends. He maintained his civilian status, and indeed before the civilian administration was closed down in Papua, he was Acting Chairman of the Council. As a civilian he did much to encourage the local activities of the Australian Red Cross for the relief of many war-time needs, and no pacifist scruples were allowed to interfere with his giving, as one specially interested in eye troubles, all the help he could to service men who needed it.

When all civilians were evacuated from Papua, Dr. Williams held for a time a Health position under the Queensland Government. Then once more he transferred to one of the earth's outposts, this time to Fiji, where he spent a happy three or four years as an eye specialist.

Old suspicions forgotten, Fred Williams was invited to take up his work again in Papua, but for health and family reasons, he felt it right to decline. For years he had hardly seen anything of his wife and family, and so for a time Fred and Edith Williams settled near the Friends School at Wanganui, New Zealand, where his two girls were at school.

Now this widely travelled Australian pacifist with so many and such broad interests is back in his home State of Victoria where he is practising as an eye specialist. And still in various ways he is trying to clear the vision of men and women on many religious, moral, political and social issues.

Fred Williams has used well the talents his Creator has given him and, while he is still with us and while his powers are still at their full, his friends may well say of him—and in the international language he so loves—what was said of the faithful servants in the Parable: "Bone, vi bona, kay fidel servisto."

\* Matthew XXV, 21. The New Testament in Esperanto. "Well done, good and faithful servant."

## GERMAN PACIFISTS DENOUNCE "WITCH-HUNT"

The following statement has been issued by the German Section of the War Resisters' International, with reference to the dismissal of the "new enemies of the State" and translated for Peace News by Hilda Klenze.

THE decision of the Federal Government to dismiss all Communists and fellow travellers at present in their employ on the grounds that they are enemies of the state, is humiliating because it will inevitably create a category of dishonoured citizens within the territory of the Federal Republic.

Above all, however, it is humiliating because at the same time Nazis and military leaders who until recently were regarded as dangerous enemies of democracy, freedom and security, are released from prison and others acquitted by the Federal Courts.

History takes a quick revenge. Those who only yesterday were figuring as merciless prosecutors, are themselves now in the dock as the accused.

We have from the start been opposed to denazification and would have nothing to do with it. Today we are equally opposed to the witch hunt against Communists, and refuse to be involved in the demonic persecution racket which will probably result from it. We are convinced that this new farce will come to the same deplorable end as the former did, and that it will dishonour the German nation as thoroughly as did denazification.

Therefore and from a deep sense of humiliation we make the following statement:

1. The arbitrary decision of the Federal Government to dismiss from their employ every civil servant, worker, or employee who is a member or supporter of the Communist Party or an affiliated body, is nothing less than a breach of the constitution. Politicians and lawyers may be able to find a justification for this measure, but the uncorrupted conscience of every true democrat who is not blinded by party allegiance, will see in it nothing but a dangerous violation of the fundamental civil and human rights which the constitution guarantees for every citizen.

2. Communism, whether we like it or not, is an ideology, and ideologies cannot be wiped out of existence by rules and regulations. On the contrary, persecution and penalties will merely help to create martyrs and a cult of martyrs, which will strengthen the persecuted ideology and eventually contribute to its final victory. If the persecutions, concentration camps, executions and gas chambers of the Nazis were not able to kill the spirit of freedom and resistance in the German people, how can the Federal Government hope to render the Communists harmless by banning them? Or does the Federal Government contemplate the use of even harsher methods in order to gain their objective?

3. Communism is the result of poverty and a dissatisfaction with the present social order. If the Federal Government is anxious to annihilate Communism, their best course of action would be to do away with the causes of Communism, and everything that breeds and supports it. They should build houses, provide work, and ensure the welfare and contentment of all their citizens—they will then find that Communism will die a natural death. The money which the Federal Government intends to spend on rearmament, would be

more than sufficient to provide full employment for those millions of people whom misery and despair now drive into the arms of the Communist Party and its affiliated bodies.

4. When a democratic government begins to employ totalitarian methods—and the methods now used against the Communist Party show all the symptoms of a first rate totalitarianism—it sinks to the level of a dictatorship and ceases to be that which it pretends to be, or to stand for those values which it professes to defend.

It is a fatal mistake to think that a good thing can be achieved or maintained by bad means. Good or bad, the means invariably determine the face of the end before the world (and before God). Bad means kill the good end, for the sake of which they are being used.

5. Democracy does not consist in ensuring the freedom of those who think and act in support of it. We all know that any totalitarian regime does as much.

Democracy ensures the freedom even of its enemies and even at the risk of its own life. Democracy in fact, has no need to fear any enemies. It is its own safeguard, provided that it is really democratic.

The attempt of the Federal Government to defend the "democracy" of the Federal Republic by dictatorial means is a sign that something is rotten in the state of this democracy.

It also proves that the Federal Government stands much in need of democratic instruction and wants to be taught what democracy really means. Democracy has to be learnt before it can be lived.

6. We, the War Resisters, have every reason to fear a Communist dictatorship. We realise full well that we have nothing to hope from it.

The Communists would certainly dissolve and ban our organisation, as they have dissolved and banned those organisations and movements which were unwilling to obey their orders and refused to be made the tools of their system.

If we in spite of this raise our voices against the persecution of the Communists, we are doing so because we are, as individuals and as a movement, opposed to every kind of dictatorship, be it of the right, the left, or the centre.

However much we may abhor a Communist regime, we are prepared, if we may quote Voltaire, "to fight until death" for the civil rights and freedoms of the Communists, even at the risk of being sent to an NKWD concentration camp or to Siberia tomorrow.

Many of us do not profess to be Christians, and most of us do not belong to a Christian party, as do the Federal Chancellor and his colleagues, but at the same time we do attempt to follow the principle, well known to them, which was laid down 2,000 years ago on a bare hill in the Holy Land, and which runs: "Love your enemies."

## THE SAVER OF SEOULS

IN a world of evil and irreligion, it is gratifying to be able to admit that a crusading spirit is abroad.

Notice that word "admit." For, let us confess it, a few short weeks ago we were of the opinion that the war in Korea was a stupid and unnecessary war; a war of power fought for sordid and soulless material objectives.

We were wrong. And the proof of our error is provided by the details of the liberation of Seoul by United Nations' troops.

The first thing that showed us our mistake was the announcement that thirty-thousand South Korean civilians died in the battle for Seoul. This immediately and unequivocally brings the liberation of Seoul into line with classic liberation movements of recent years.

In any genuine process of liberation, as we have seen since 1939, there are three elements: the Enslavers, the Liberators and the Liberated. And it is essential, to prove the genuineness of the process, that the Liberated should be the ones to suffer most. If a rough-and-ready analogy may make the matter clearer, the Liberated occupy the position of the grain of wheat in the operation of grinding. They emerge purer, whiter and flatter. Both Enslavers and Liberators hopeth all Things, while the Liberated endureth all Things.

We had, in a mood of unworthy cynicism, expected the United Nations to recapture Seoul with nothing more to show for it than a bayoneted baby or two, or the

odd, dismembered mother or cousin; thus proving the whole liberation racket to be a fake and a phoney. We repeat; we were wrong. Not only did the UN forces liberate thirty-thousand Korean citizens from all future worries about international affairs and the rice situation; they also saw to it that they had decent burial beneath the rubble of the city.

THE next item that gave the lie to our scepticism was the report of the measures immediately put in hand for the restoration of civilisation and democracy to the shattered capital of South Korea. The vast machinery of the United Nations snapped into quivering action. Wires hummed, wheels turned and, to quote the official report, "American planes flew across from Japan with four staff cars, six jeeps, 50 instruments for the Marines' band and two big American flags."

As is well known everywhere, the American flag only appears immediately before and immediately after a protracted reference to God. In this case it was before, and as there were two flags it was clear that God was in for a spot of overtime.

The ruler of military precedence had still to be observed, however, so God was not allowed to dominate the proceedings until everyone had had a good eyeful and earful of General MacArthur, who has, in any case, been mistaken by some simple Koreans for the Lord Almighty Himself and probably thinks that the error is an excusable one.

General MacArthur himself graciously acknowledged God's membership of the United Nations when he said:

"By the grace of a merciful Providence, our forces, fighting under the standard of that greatest hope and inspiration of mankind, the United Nations, have liberated this ancient capital city of Korea."

That was just in case any of his listeners were in doubt of the fact. He went on:

"It has been freed from the despotism of the Communist rule and its citizens once more have the opportunity to live under that immutable concept of life which holds invincibly to the primacy of individual liberty and personal dignity."

They are still chewing over that mouthful in the ruined paddy-fields of South Korea, where it takes the place of a week's rice ration. Especially the "once more" bit. But the evangelical General was only warming up. He recalled that the aged President of South Korea, in his dotage, might have been wondering just what the hell was happening, anyway; so he kindly gave him, in Biblical language, a resume of the events of the past few months:

"The ravage of war which has been visited upon your land, Mr. President, by these forces of evil which seek to subvert the spiritual qualities of modern civilisation, has been viewed with universal concern and distress, and fifty-three nations of the earth rose up in righteous wrath and indignation and pledged their full effort toward your relief."

Or this may have been a hint to President Syngman Rhee of the most tactful line to follow in conversation. If so, the President forgot, because when asked

later whether United Nations' forces would cross the 38th Parallel, he said: "That is the aim of this war." If only that had been said at the beginning, we'd have known where we were.

General MacArthur brought things back to a crusading level again when he called for the Lord's Prayer and, gazing out emotionally over the rubble of the Seoul he had saved, said: "It is through the spirit that we must save the flesh." And the flesh beneath the rubble was not moved.

AS we write, it is not yet known whether MacArthur's crusaders intend to carry the Cross over the 38th Parallel or not. The General, no doubt, awaits instructions from a Higher Source than President Rhee and we feel fairly certain that he will get them.

The point we wish to stress is that the Korean affair has turned out to be very different from what we hastily thought. We just didn't know that the aim of the war was to save the flesh through the spirit. We thought it was to save the high-and-mighty face of some through the low-and-humble flesh of others.

MacArthur gives us the lie direct, and we are glad of it. A new force is loose in the world. The bodies of the saved lie mouldering in the grave, but the saviour of Seoul goes marching on.

You have been warned. For what we are about to receive may the United Nations' propaganda machine make us truly thankful.

CYRIL HUGHES



# The only Revolution

**T**HE only revolution which does not end in Stalinism must be a Gandhian, non-violent one. So says Mr. A. J. Muste, American pacifist leader.

Quoting this assertion, the American "Interpreter" comments: "If our western peace forces worked as hard in the grime of economic reality as Gandhi did; if they promoted in actual concrete situations the money and land reforms, the home and village production that the Gandhian movement does, we would be more hopeful."

The whole thing, says the paper, is so huge, so complex and so baffling that we tend to shut off thought about it; but we are forced back to the "economic tangle" that underlies Communism, exploitation and war.

## Peace Mission

**M**R. A. J. MUSTE will be a leading speaker for the Church Peace Mission to be conducted throughout the United States during the latter part of this year.

The Mission is sponsored by fifteen religious pacifist groups who recently held a conference in Detroit on the church and war, and gives special emphasis to the statement issued by the 1948 Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches that all warfare is contrary to the will of God and therefore not permissible to Christians. Leader of the Mission is the chairman of the Lutheran Peace Fellowship, the Rev. Robert F. Weiskotten.

## Fear and Longing

**T**HE fear of war and the longing for peace were everywhere, says "Marcus" of the Birmingham Post on returning from holiday in France and Italy; he found them the "inescapable topic."

Nor was the feeling a false product of propaganda. "It lives in each village, in each family where the people have seen war fought through their streets. It is the memory of villagers who know the humiliations of being in occupied territory, and the anarchy of being liberated." It sprang from poor people who knew nothing of the political game except that they hated its results.

The pathos of this personal predicament, says the writer, is that in the face of war and death the individual feels he is powerless to do anything to control events.

## World Disease

**I**N England, says "Marcus," this anxiety seems to be less common. In Wales, which has itself suffered a kind of "occupation," there is perhaps more awareness of the issues.

Discussing the "world-wide disease," of aggressive materialism and totalitarianism, "The Welsh Nation" (organ of the Welsh Nationalist Party) condemns the ruthless and unscrupulous power politics of which all the Great Powers are equally guilty.

"Military and industrial conscription, suppression and perversion of news, persecution of minorities, exploitation of subject nationalities, humbug and hypocrisy, totalitarianism and tyranny—these are everywhere in profuse variety, the consequences of the idolatrous worship of material force."

One manifestation of this policy has been seen in Korea; another example, says "The Welsh Nation," is the War Office decision to proceed with its plan of appropriating a further 5,120 acres of land in Breconshire for military purposes.

## Encroachment

**A**NOTHER invasion of civilian life which has drawn a protest from the Socialist Party of America is the appointment of a military man to the replace Mr. Louis Johnson as Secretary of Defence.

The following statement was issued to Mr. Truman: "We protest at the appointment of a military man to the post of Secretary of Defence as hasty and ill-advised. The considered judgment of Congress guarded this post from military control. It should not be pressured by war hysteria or partisan considerations into overnight reversal of the law. Democracy is threatened by encroachments of military thinking where civilians should set policy. We urge you and the Senate to reconsider."

## Blitz Law

**T**HE passing of the new Universal Military Training (Conscription) Bill in record time in Congress is criticised by "Peace Action." Hearings were "blitzed through the Senate Armed Services Committee in four hours"; opposition witnesses were allowed less than an hour.

This high-pressure legislation was largely due to the efforts of the American Legion in plugging UMT as a national necessity, though U.S. Army leaders had said they didn't want it in operation just now.

The American Legion, says "The Reporter," is also seeking to end deferment for conscientious objectors. A delegation on behalf of COs has been assured, however, that no immediate change in legislation is contemplated.

## World Conference

**T**HE Crusade for World Government draws attention to three forthcoming assemblies in furtherance of the aim of world government.

The first session of the People's World Convention will be held in Geneva on Dec. 30. Representatives have been elected on the basis of one

per million of the population of participating nations, and it is hoped that many more elections will have been completed by the time the convention opens. Simultaneously a Consultative Assembly will take place of interested observers representing governments, political parties and religious movements, and open to any individual on payment of the conference fee.

From Jan. 5-12, 1951, the fourth congress of the World Movement for World Federal Government will be held in Rome. As well as federalist organisations, who will comprise three-fifths of the delegates, representatives will be invited from the many other bodies working for peace based on world government.

## Federation

**M**UNDIALISATION is spreading from France to Scandinavia. First Danish town chosen to be made "world territory" is Brande in Jutland, as part of an "International Week" held at the beginning of October.

Scandinavian federalists met in Copenhagen last month to discuss more effective co-operation for world federation in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

## Instrument of Peace

**A** STEP forward on the road to international understanding is the adoption by the Hamburg city police of Esperanto as a universal auxiliary language.

The scheme was initiated by Mr. Bruno Georges, Hamburg's Chief of Police, and on passing the necessary examinations policemen will be given an armlet bearing the word "Esperanto." The men are proud that their Chief is the pioneer of a movement for friendly international communications, writes a correspondent in "The Caravan."

## Christian Pacifism

**T**HE Christian pacifist answer in the present situation will be discussed at a public meeting, arranged by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, to be held at Friends House, London, on Nov. 10 at 7.30 p.m. The speakers will be Lady Parmoor and Dr. Soper. "Reconciliation" also announces the revival of PAX, the society founded in 1936 by a number of Catholics who held that it is practically impossible for modern war to satisfy the conditions for a just war.

## Cliches, too

**G**ENERAL MACARTHUR, says the Daily Express, has found time (amongst his other commitments) to kill a cliché. Describing the conduct of the Commonwealth Task Force at Inchon, he avoided the overworked adjective "glorious" and referred to "another glamorous page to the long and brilliant history," etc. The Oxford Dictionary defines "glamour" as: "A magical or fictitious beauty attaching to a person or object; a delusive or alluring charm." Evidently, a correspondent writes, General MacArthur agrees with us that armed victories are fictitious and delusive. **MARGARET TIMS**

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### "Troops burn village"

**U**NDER the caption "Troops Burn Village" an "Exclusive NEA-Acme photo" appearing in the *Palo Alto Times* of Sept. 8, 1950, is a graphic portrayal of pathos and grief in a woman valiantly trying to save her burning home, while an unconcerned, uniformed gunman stands nearby. The "village was purposely set afire by American patrols to prevent its use by North Koreans as a place to take cover." Victims of the arsonists, the distressed woman and the plaintive-faced children, cry out to Heaven against the crimes of war.

Surely we who believe in justice cannot approve of our country's military ruthlessness in Korea whatever the excuse; although it is called "police action" under the blue and white flag of the UN! Here is a new sort of policeman, "authorised" to burn homes, blast buildings, and kill the innocent! Tragically the toiling, needy Korean peasants are caught between two aggressive, rival empires.

Are such cowardly acts as arson and bombing expected of American boys—are they to lay waste that distant, Asian land? The present world situation is another crucial test for all who believe in justice. Is the Church silent? In the name of humanity let the voice of fair-minded people be heard in this crisis.

So the competitive United Nations Organisation has become a war agency, and has gone the way of all treaties based on the empire-interest of signatories. Pacts, world conferences, "solemn" resolutions built on sand; peace treaties in which the Prince of Peace has been excluded, lie stark in the wastes of time.

The militarised State is not concerned with morality and all-inclusive equality of opportunity. Moral and spiritual advancement must, under God, evolve from the hearts of men.

Doubtless the distressful picture of the burning Korean village will awaken many sincere Americans to face the momentous question, Can evil means achieve good ends?

**LOUIS OBED RENNE**

114 Cornell Road,  
Mento Park,  
California, USA.

### Co-education in Russia

**T**HE reference in Peace News to the discussion now taking place in the USSR on co-education led me to look up the quite full report in *The Times Educational Supplement*, August 25. It seems to me to be of greater significance to the peace movement than might appear at first sight.

Co-education (replacing the segregation of Tsarist days), had been the practice of the USSR from 1917. In 1940—note the date; it is highly significant—the Moscow City Council asked the Ministry of Education's permission to introduce separate secondary education for boys and girls.

The request was, however, turned down; and it was only in 1942 that experiments in segregation were allowed. The *Times Educational Supplement* does not make the following point, but it seems pretty clear that the changeover in 1942-43 must be seen primarily as a military measure taken by a country fighting desperately for its life.

That is why what seems to be an upsurge of feeling in the USSR today for a return of their pre-war system of education can only be taken as a manifestation of their desire for peace and their firm belief in a peaceful future.

It is just as well they do not read the Press of Britain and America, where every effort is being made to inculcate a hatred of Russia as a necessary step in preparing the minds of the people for a Third World War. (Is Peace News itself not guilty in this respect, on occasion?)

May their faith in a peaceful future, which must surely imply a faith in the will to peace of ordinary folk the world over, be justified; and may the peace movement of Great Britain deserve this faith.

**B. WARD**

49 Devon Road,  
Watford.

### World Federation

**M**R. E. G. MACFARLANE, in your issue of Sept. 29, is quite correct in implying that if the peoples of the world are going to be stupid, we will not get world federation, and therefore our fate is sealed. For there cannot be more than one master of the destructive natural forces which the scientists have revealed. It had better be a federal authority that represents us all and can deal directly with any one of us who might be so unwise as to contemplate playing any monkey-tricks with these forces.

But the pioneer of the World Parliament Party is looking further ahead. He is looking to the time when whatever federal world constitution is recommended by the Peoples' Convention in the course of the next few years, will come up for ratification through the various national parliaments for a referendum of their peoples.

The present situation is that their governments—the official representatives of the peoples—have betrayed them, and let them in for a league of State governments. Such leagues have always in the past led to war (as this one has already done, though it is only five years old), they intensify nationalism which operates in a vicious circle with war—both produces it and is produced by it.

The people are not stupid, but they are ignorant and misinformed. They are ignorant about world federation as their only practical solution, because the national press and the national pulpits are on the side of the national governments, who have been guilty of this treachery in establishing again a league. So, in the daily propaganda which they absorb with their morning coffee they hear continually about the virtues of UNO, and everything is being done by those concerned to cover up the mistake that was made at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944, and to try and make the public believe that a league can be a fine thing. They are not directed to read "The Federalist" (Everyman's Library, No. 519) in which, especially Chapters XV, XVI and XXII, the vice of leagues was thoroughly exposed more than 160 years ago; and UNESCO, which emanates from this same league, is not teaching about the defects of its parent, and showing why UNO must be replaced by a world federal government.

So there has gradually developed a feeling that national governments are not to be trusted in this matter of our safety, and hence arises the popular initiative to go going with a Peoples' Constituent Assembly—Constitutional Convention—instead of waiting for many years while the old school of politicians get converted to brighter ideas.

When the parliamentarians see that the peoples mean business, they will be more ready to join the World Parliamentary Party, and good luck to Mr. Macfarlane who has thought of this way of giving them all a rallying point.

**THE FEDERALISTS**

Anacapri,  
Italy.

### The facts of death—

**A**T Church Fenton RAF Station, Yorkshire, children will have a specially staffed "pram park" where they can watch model aircraft dropping dummy bombs as a miniature range.

Yorkshire men have a reputation for hard-headed intelligence, and one hopes that they will not permit this tragic nonsense to go unchallenged.

From the militant point of view, it is never too early to teach the young "the facts of death."

If young Lewis, who dropped the bomb on Hiroshima had been properly "educated" in childhood he might not have been troubled by the remorse that has since driven him into a monastery in search of peace of mind.

**TOM SULLIVAN**

31 Knockbreda Park,  
Belfast.

### and of the New Statesman

**I**N Peace News, June 30, there was a short article under the heading of "He dropped the first A-bomb."

This was taken from the New Statesman dated June 24. In this article, according to Le Devoir, a Catholic newspaper published in Montreal, it said that Robert Lewis, formerly a bombardier in the United States Army Air Force, who pressed the button which brought death to 80,000 people in Hiroshima, had entered a Monastery because he had "lost his inner peace."

In the Reveille for the weekend September 22-24 there was a picture of Robert Lewis with his wife and family. It stated that he was the pilot of the plane which dropped the A-bomb on Hiroshima. It also stated that he was just an ordinary sort of bloke. Nothing was mentioned about his having "lost his inner peace."

**JAMES HANNAH**

90 Nelson Street,  
Baillieston, Lanarkshire.

### EXTRACTS

**DOCTOR WOODARD** says, "Can Christianity prevail over Communism by force?" The threatened war will not be fought for Christianity. Bombs on homes, citizens and children have nothing to do with Christ. These are rather the instruments of those who would make the globe a horse-trader's world of profit-takers and easy living for the few.

**A. D. HUNTER**

28 The Grove,  
London, W.5.

**I**HAVE passed on Peace News to a friend who had not heard of it, and have given a regular order for same to my newsagent.

It may interest you to know that I had never heard of this grand little paper until over a week ago the newsboy delivered the wrong set of newspapers to our door, and folded in with an Express was your famous little Peace News. Incidentally it belonged to the neighbour next door.

**MICHAEL J. THOMAS**

Omega,  
27 Hilden Farm Estate,  
Nr. Tonbridge.

**H**OW strange it is that we go on using a word long after it has ceased to be applicable to the situation.

For instance, we still refer to "Fighting" a war. To fight is to attack and to be attacked. When an airman drops a bomb on a hospital is he struggling with the patients and are they hitting him?

**NORAH SHONE**

13 Edith Grove,  
Chelsea.

(Continued on page seven)



## This Korean business

reply to the Rev. Owen Rattenbury. The "timorous minister" he refers to (Rev. J. H. Price) said re Dr. Soper's remarks "I rise to ask whether something could be said to make it plain to world Methodism that it was not the view of the Conference, and that the great majority of our brethren here would oppose it."

I am not concerned here with "alternatives," except to say that if Communism did spread and become dominant for a time, the human spirit would not be entirely crushed and the light put out, but if there is global war then it is the end.

The point is that the Methodist Conference has for the third time within 40 years accepted the war method as an instrument of policy, and are in line with our first Labour Government with power, who also have denied the Labour faith, and who seem to have forgotten it was the founder who said that "Conscription is the

badge of the slave." Incidentally the Government have lost my vote for ever. They have done great things, but the war gamble will undo everything. I shall never again consider the choice of two evils, I'm not having any evil if I know it, and shall not vote again in a Parliamentary election.

After the first world war, Mr. Lloyd George said—"If in August 1914, the Christian Churches had come to the Government and said 'stop! This murder shall not begin,' no Government would have dared to enter into war."

Nearly all religious bodies, have, again and again in Conference, declared that war is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ. Yet as soon as war is declared they give support, and even pray for God to bless the effort, and then ask for comfort for the dying and bereaved. Could cant and hypocrisy go further.

The Methodist Conference rejected an amendment by the Rev. P. S. Carden in favour of disarmament and the rejection of conscription. I know it can be argued that the time is inopportune, it always is with opportunists. Its always the time to do right. Jesus renounced force in the Garden of Gethsemane, otherwise he would have been a name in history, not the greatest, and the Saviour of the world. Could He do otherwise seeing he was the foretold Prince of Peace.

This Korean war is scandalous business, one has only to see pictures of the people who live there, to see how poor and illiterate they are, but even so they are equal in God's sight, and are just being used (and all they hold dear destroyed), as pawns in the war game of wholesale murder in the struggle for power between East and West.

ARTHUR L. FAITH

12 Poulton Street, Fleetwood, Lancs.

All Quiet on the Western Front

IF pacifists would like to help in the most effective anti-war campaign of the month will they write to their local cinema manager to urge the showing of "All quiet on the Western Front?"

This film has just been reissued but it will only be shown in towns where it is demanded. So go to it and let the public see a film about the real war, debunking the glamour and heroics of the usual Hollywood products.

DENIS BRIAN

24a Breakspere Road, Brockley, S.E.4.

Five bob and a clear conscience

IN the advertisement columns of Peace News each week, one or more of the various friendship and marriage bureaux offers readers introductions to members of the opposite sex. Many readers of Peace News must use it, or the advertisement

would not continue, and this is where I come in.

I understand these bureaux charge a registration fee which though it may vary is about five shillings, with additional fees for further introductions.

A little while ago I was looking into the mirror when I noticed "some silver threads among the black." "George," I said, "If you don't get yourself a companion soon, you will be past it." And just at that moment things happened, and I didn't have to use the marriage bureau after all.

Had I not been a member of the PPU I should have paid my five bob, and perhaps more. I therefore appeal to all my fellow readers of Peace News (who have met their companions in the Peace Movement, and don't regret it) to send PN that five bob, and have a clear conscience.

To set the example, I have given mine, and so destroyed once and for all the mystical proverb: "You can't get blood out of a stone."

GEORGE PLUME

London, N.W.

Never again

I NOTICE from recent issues that you have been receiving letters from ex-servicemen on the "Z" Class Reserve, who have realised the utter stupidity of war, and wish, in the event of being recalled to the colours, to stand their ground and refuse to go. I have every admiration for these men, and I wish them luck because I know that they have got a tough job ahead.

Individually I think it will be a very difficult task for them to become COs except, of course, where ridicule, abuse, etc., are of no avail.

My point in writing is to suggest that they form themselves into an organisation with an expressive title such as the "Never Again Association," appoint a Secretary and Treasurer, make a small contribution each to a central fund which could be used to employ solicitors or lawyers where necessary, to help these men—although, speaking as a CO of the last war who survived three tribunals, I do not advocate taking such people with you.

But there are a lot of legal points that only a legal man is qualified to handle, and some money would be required.

If this organisation should be formed, I suggest each one of its members approach as many others as possible and present the facts to them.

Personally I have been amazed at the support for pacifism that is forthcoming from these ex-servicemen, who have learnt from grim experience what some of us always knew—that war can never bring peace, and the result of war is always another war.

A. W. DAVIE

12 Links Way, Croxley Green, Herts.

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors provides legal aid for COs of every standpoint: Quakers, ex-Servicemen, Socialists, Communists, Fascists, Jehovah's Witnesses.—Ed. PN).

## LETTERS

## Up and doing!

## THE RIGHT IDEA

Mrs. F. E. M. of Bexleyheath has the right idea:

"Every Friday morning I proudly display Peace News in the train, while all the other occupants are reading war news. I notice they glance surreptitiously at my PN and am sure the paper must get a few new readers. Crowds of people do not know such a paper is printed."

"After displaying the front page for nearly a week (although I have read it from cover to cover) I used to leave it either in the train or underground, but I began to feel that it was far too good to leave for any chance reader who might discover it. So now I carry PN in my bag until I get a chance to place it. As soon as anybody breathes a word about the policy of this country and rearmament, out comes a Peace News."

Make sure you have a few extra copies every week! H.F.M.  
Circulation last week 11,300 (including 500 for Birmingham Peace Week).

## Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, October 25, 1940

The President of the Methodist Conference, asked for a definite pronouncement on this subject (of conscientious objection) ... replied:

"The considered verdict of the Conference, as recorded in the Minutes of 1937, page 384, is our stand-by with regard to the treatment of conscientious objectors. I enclose a copy of the relevant passage ... our Church has never gone back upon this statement ... it still represents the official attitude ..."

The enclosure to which the President refers is as follows:

"Should war come, we realise that a grave decision will be demanded of the Christian. There will be those, sincere lovers of their country, whose inward conviction and loyalty to Christ compel them to oppose war in all circumstances. With equal sincerity and with a like inward constraint, others will feel the necessity of giving effect to obligations, commitments, and loyalties of a national or international character which they deem binding on the body politic, and on themselves within it. The Methodist Church recognises that, in present circumstances, both decisions may express true loyalty to personal spiritual conviction, and an earnest endeavour to do the will of God and serve the highest interests of mankind. In view of this recognition, the Methodist Church will uphold liberty of conscience and offer unceasing ministries to all her sons ..."

## Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

## Friday, October 20

REDFORD: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall; Speaker: Vera Brittain; FoR.

LONDON, W.1: 7 p.m. King's Weigh House Church Hall (off Oxford St., opposite Selfridges); The Church and the International Situation; Speakers: the Ven. Rev. Hartill (Archdeacon of Stoke) and Rev. Douglas Wollen of Exeter (Methodist); Chairman: Canon T. B. Horton.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; John Irwin, Assistant Keeper of Museum; Central London PPU.

PALMERS GREEN: 7.30 p.m. 32 Lynwood Gardens; Film strip: "Europe's Situation"; Bring and Buy stall (Is. 6d. per ticket); Organiser Bruce Harrison, PALMERS GREEN; I.V.S.P.

CARDIFF: Friends Meeting House; Welsh Advisory Council of FoR.

NORTH CHINGFORD: 8 p.m. Hawkewood Crescent, E.4; Meeting for all pacifists in the district; Speaker: Bill Gotch; North Chingford Peace Group (provisional).

## Saturday, October 21

BETHNAL GREEN: 7.30 p.m. Oxford Street, Mape St. (from Bethnal Green Station 8th turning to the left up Bethnal Green Rd.); Country Dance Party; London I.V.S.P. Group.

LONDON, W.C.2: 11 a.m. St. Martin's Church; Holy Communion, to be followed at 2.15 p.m. by the Annual General Meeting; Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

NORTHAMPTON: 6 p.m. Friends Meeting House Wellington St. (a turning off the main road); Bernard Boothroyd, Editor of Peace News, on "Pacifism and the Press"; Chairman: Rev. H. O. Evans; FoR.

NOTTINGHAM: 3.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Friar Lane; Lyn Harris, Headmistress of St. Christopher's School, Letchworth, on "The Pacifist Approach to the Problems of Today"; Refreshments; FoR.

## SWANSEA: 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. Friends

Meeting House; Speaker: Clifford H. Macquaire; Area Conference for West Glamorgan and South Carmarthen; FoR.

CARDIFF: 2.30 p.m. YWCA, Charles St.; a meeting for Welsh Churches; Speakers: Rev. T. H. Williams and Rev. Eirwyn Morgan; Chairman: Rev. R. J. Jones; FoR.

FINSBURY PARK: 2.30 p.m. "Peace News" Office, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4; Helpers required for door-to-door distribution, CD leaflets; Islington Peace Group (PPU).

Saturday, Oct. 21-Sunday, Oct. 22

SHEFFIELD: at "Hollowford"; FoR weekend school; Details from Winifred Golding, 140 Hunter House Road; Sheffield, 11.

## Sunday, October 22

CLAPHAM COMMON: 3 p.m. Open Air Meeting; Stuart Morris; Battersea and Clapham Group, PPU.

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; North London Region, PPU.

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; PPU.

GLASGOW: 7 p.m. Brunswick Street, Open-air meeting; PPU.

## Monday, October 23

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square; Piano recital by Frank Merrick in aid of Stepney Pacifist Service Unit; Works by Beethoven ("Appassionata"), Chopin, William Wordsworth and others; Tickets 2s. 6d., 4s., 6s., 10s. from Stepney PSU, 355 The Highway, E.1. Tel Royal 4664.

## Tuesday, October 24

NORBURY: 8 p.m. Norbury Methodist Church, London Rd.; Hugh Faulkner on "The Christian Alternative to War"; Chairman: The Rev. D. R. Evans, MA; Public meeting; FoR.

EALING: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall, Uxbridge Rd.; United Nations Day Peace Pageant; UNA.

## Wednesday, October 25

LEWISHAM: 8 p.m. Davenport Hall, Davenport St., Rushby Green; PPU.

LONDON, S.E.: 8 p.m. Cambridge House, 137 Camberwell Rd.; Jack Sutherland on "Can we avoid war with Russia?"; Public Meeting; PPU.

## Thursday, October 26

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

## Friday, October 27

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh Gardens; "In Defence of Peace"; a selection of vicious verse and placid poems; Read by Jon Wynne-Tyson; Central London PPU.

## Saturday, October 28

LEEDS: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane; Yorkshire Area Meeting; PPU.

LEEDS: 4 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane; Annual reunion of all COs; 5.30: T.A. Is. 6d. per person; 6.30: Public Meeting; Stanley F. Sweet on "Pacifism and Communism"; North Regional Board for COs.

LONDON, E.11: 3 p.m. Friends Hall, Walthamstow; Annual General Meeting and Reunion; Walthamstow and District Advisory Committee for Objectors and Conscriptors; All old friends welcome.

LIVERPOOL: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Hunter St. (behind Walker Art Gallery); Area meeting; PPU; Tea provided, at 1s. 6d. each.

## Sunday, October 29

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; North London Region, PPU.

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; PPU.

GLASGOW: 7 p.m. Brunswick Street; Open-air meeting; PPU.

## Monday, October 30

LONDON, W.C.2: 5.15 p.m. London School of Economics, Houghton St., Aldwych; Prof. C. A. Coulson, FRS, on "Science and the Pacifist"; University Group of the FoR.

## Friday, November 3

ST. ALBANS: 8.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House, St. Albans; Prebendary B. C. Hobson, of Cockfosters, "The Way of Christ and the Early Church"; FoR.

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30-1.45. St. Martins-in-the-Fields; Intercession Service for Peace; Miss Vera Brittain; AFF, FoR, and PPU.

## Thursday, November 9

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Leeds Forum, 113 Park Lane; Bernard Boothroyd on "Peace and the Press"; Public meeting; Peace News Campaign.

## Saturday, November 18

BIRMINGHAM: 10.30 a.m.-12.30 p.m. and 2 p.m.-4.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House Bull St.; Speakers: S. O. Davies, MP for Merthyr Tydfil, Vera Brittain, Chairman of the PPU, Rev. A. D. Belden, DD, and Dr. J. E. Fremlin, MA; Birmingham Peace Council.

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We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

## MEETINGS

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1 (Bond St. Tube). Sundays evenings at 7. "The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows."

LONDON PEACE Conference, Saturday, Oct. 28, 2.30 p.m. at City Literary Institute, Stukely St., W.C.2. Re-call Conference of the London Peace Council. Delegates and visitors warmly invited. Opening statement by Rev. Jack Boggis. Speakers: Rev. Bryn Thomas, Dr. Woodard. Enquiries to TEM 2264.

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## LITERATURE, &amp;c.

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P.N. in the Libraries

HUDDERSFIELD 'NO'  
MANSFIELD 'YES'

READERSHIP of Peace News and Reconciliation, the journal of the For, will be extended by the decision of Mansfield Public Library Committee to accept an offer by Mansfield (Nottingham) Peace Group to supply copies of the two periodicals for display in the Central Library reading room.

In making the request, the Peace Group stated: "We realise that the pacifist viewpoint is only held by a small proportion of the population of this country, but recognition of the right of minorities to propagate their views is a distinguishing mark of democracy, and it is because we believe that your committee would not wish to stifle the free expression of honestly held beliefs that we make our request with some confidence."

In Huddersfield, the Public Library Committee recently rejected an offer by the local PPU Group to supply Peace News for the reading room.

After Mr. Jackson had asked for the reason for the refusal, the chairman of the Committee (Mr. F. Rowcliffe) said that Peace News was essentially a propaganda publication. A short time ago the Committee turned down for the same reason an offer of the free supply of the official organ of a political body—a Liberal body.

Mr. Jackson expressed dissatisfaction with the reply and said that in the reading room were papers attached to religious bodies and the Co-operative movement.

Mr. Jackson moved an amendment for reference back of the minute. Ald. R. H. Browne seconded, but the amendment was lost as there was only one other supporter.

## PPU GROUP'S LETTER

In a letter to the members of the Committee the Group Secretary, W. E. Bray, wrote:

"During the past three weeks we have taken the liberty of submitting for your approval Peace News, a paper which we have tried on three or four occasions in the past twelve years to have displayed in the reading room of the Public Library."

"We hope those previous attempts will convince you that our action is not prompted by the present deterioration in world affairs, but by an unwavering belief that lasting Peace cannot be achieved by armaments. Concurrently we wish to make it clear that we are not prompted by Communist sympathies, proof of which lies in the fact that we as a Group recently refused to ally ourselves with local Communists who sought our support for the much published Petition of the British Peace Council."

"You may not necessarily agree with all Peace News has to say, or indeed with the case for pacifism, but we believe that such a case is as deserving of consideration as are the various viewpoints of other papers and periodicals which are in our reading room."

"It may interest you to know that Peace News is in the reading rooms of the public libraries of several towns and cities, including Leeds, Halifax, Birmingham, Coventry, York, Newcastle, etc., and on these grounds alone we believe there is justification for asking you to support the inclusion of the paper in our own reading room."

"We have written your fellow members on the Library Committee together with the Librarian and we trust that as a result a favourable decision may be reached."

"If necessary we will undertake to supply the paper free of charge. The following libraries have to be added to the list of ninety reading rooms known to display the paper printed in Peace News on August 25:

Abingdon, Bridgend, Hinckley, Liskeard, Luton and Taunton.

In the 1930's Peace News was known to be shown in 400 libraries, but a complete post-war list has yet to be compiled.

## Christmas Cards

IF you want Christmas cards with a peace message, or without

IF you want to raise funds for your local work

IF you or your children like colouring your own Christmas cards

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## AT THE PEACE MEETINGS

Five tasks for  
Christian pacifists

FIVE things that Christian pacifists can and must do, were outlined by Reginald Sorensen, MP, when he addressed the Fellowship of Reconciliation's West Kent Area Conference last Saturday. They were:

1. Encourage appreciation of all that is good in the world today, even among our enemies.
2. Appreciate the economic and other factors that condition men's lives and the relativity of man's approach to absolute truth.
3. Realise honestly that the divergences in mankind are real. Only then can one begin to build bridges.
4. Think of the human race as one and strive for the release of the average man throughout the world from economic enslavement; regard social welfare as a religious duty in the whole world as well as in our own country, and be prepared to make sacrifices for the economic welfare of the coloured races.
5. Stir up people, whether pacifists or not, to responsibility for the man of the future.

At an earlier session of the conference devoted to For field work, Reginald Sorensen stressed the need for more contact with non-pacifists, particularly in schemes of imaginative human service.

West Kent Area Secretary is Madge Rigden, 28 East Cliff Road, Tunbridge Wells.

"NO TWO WAYS FOR  
CHRISTIANS"

POLITICIANS, parsons and pacifists came in for criticism during a forthright address given by the Rev. D. Penry Jones, of South Wales, at a conference organised by the South Notts Area of the For at Friends' Meeting House, Nottingham, on Saturday.

Politicians rejected pacifism and had no moral basis for what they were doing, he said, going on to deplore the fact that Britain had become entangled politically with the United States.

Christian ministers the speaker described as tactful and wise but afraid of being honest or of expressing anything which might be interpreted as pacifist.

Pacifists, said the Rev. Jones, respected Christianity but were not facing the political implications of their pacifism.

"To me, Christianity is pacifism, and pacifism is Christianity," said the speaker. "There are not two ways only one—His way."

Christ would not recognise what the 20th century regarded as Christianity.

To hear people talk, one might think that there were many Christian ways, and that you could choose.

"Some say the man who kills his fellow-men is Christian, others say that the pacifist in prison is a Christian, but they cannot both be right," said the Rev. Jones.

Christians had no right to do anything for themselves, for their country, or anyone else, that they could not do in the presence of Jesus Christ. As Christians, they had no right to do anything but love.

Replying to questions, the speaker said that Communism had "gripped the imagination of the world." Christianity could convert Communism, and could take it into its orbit.

## OLGAR MISAR

FRAU OLGA MISAR, founder of the Austrian War Resisters' Movement, died suddenly in London on Oct. 8.

Harold Bing, acting chairman of the War Resisters' International writes: "All those who knew her will feel the loss and will wish to extend sympathy to her husband, Dr. Vladimir Misar, and to her daughter and son-in-law, Olga and Ernst Schwarz."

Because she could no longer accept the full WRI position, Olga Misar did not stand for re-election to the Council after the last war, but she always remained in close and sympathetic contact with its work.

## Peace News Campaign

Bring your friends to hear

**Bernard J. Boothroyd**

Editor of "Peace News"  
"Yaffle" of "Reynolds News"

at a Public Meeting on

**PEACE and the PRESS**

Thursday, Nov. 9th at 7.30 p.m.

at the

**LEEDS FORUM, 113 PARK LANE**

Chairman: Rev. J. S. K. Patrick

Particulars from:

Margery Jones, 12 Holmfild Drive, Leeds 8

Take firm stand on  
race problem

## CONFERENCE TELLS BRITAIN

A PROPOSAL that "the Western democracies should deliberately set aside a percentage of their total national income to be given and utilised over a period of years for the economic and social development of under-developed areas in Asia, Africa and elsewhere," is made in a statement issued from a Conference recently held in France at the invitation of the International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace.

The statement goes on to say that "such a charge on the economy of the nations is not less important than the cost of military defence upon it. If this appeal is adequately presented, the peoples of the Western countries would readily accept continued or new restrictions on their standard of living which such a programme of mutual aid might involve."

The Conference, which was called to consider the economic, sociological and political problems of the under-developed areas of the world in their relationship to the building of peace and world unity, was attended by representatives of 24 international and national organisations concerned with world affairs, including the British National Peace Council.

Amongst other points made are the desire to see the equal participation of the people of Asia in the building of peace and social progress not only for the Asiatic peoples themselves, but for the world as a whole; and the need to ensure that the distribution of economic aid, irrespective of the particular beneficiary, should be channelled through a recognised and representative international body, such as a functional agency under the United Nations.

On the problem in South Africa, the Conference calls for an unequivocal stand by Great Britain in defence of its own liberal attitude to the problem of race relations, and for an insistence, though in a spirit of understanding, on the full acceptance by the Union of South Africa of its obligations under international covenants where South-West Africa is concerned.

London Peace  
Council Conference

DR. WOODARD, Conservative Borough Councillor from Ealing, Rev. Bryn Thomas, and Rev. Jack Boggis, will be featured speakers at the Re-call Conference of the London Peace Council, on Saturday, Oct. 28 at 2.30 p.m. at the City Literary Institute, Stukely Street, W. C. 2.

The Council was set up in May on the initiative of the Communist-sponsored British Peace Committee in an attempt to co-ordinate peace activities in the London Area and has as its chief activities the securing of signatures to the Stockholm Petition and the setting up of Peace Committees in London.

In a statement to the Press, the Chairman, Mr. J. R. Sandy said:

"Never before has there been such a universal desire for Peace; we believe that men and women of every viewpoint, religion, and belief can play a part in securing it."

In this spirit, we cordially invite all the organisations of London to send delegates or observers to this conference, and we shall welcome members of the public as visitors."

A Quaker and CO of World War II, Mr. J. R. Sandy is a member of the Executive of the British Peace Committee.

Office of the London Peace Council is at 58 New Compton Street, W.C.2.

## MEETING OF PPU SECRETARIES

All PPU Area and Group secretaries have been invited to meet the Development Committee at Dick Sheppard House at 11 o'clock on the morning of Sunday, Nov. 5, and it is hoped that the attendance will be such as to make possible a real survey of the work being done throughout the country and adequate planning for the future.

## Emrys Hughes, M.P.

writes every week in

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Sybil Morrison's  
CAMPAIGN  
COLUMN

Only 4,600 people out of the County of London's 3,410,000 population—roughly one in 740—have volunteered for Civil Defence.

—Evening Standard, Oct. 13, 1950

As a few atom bombs alone could bring about as much destruction as all the high explosive bombs dropped by all the belligerents in the last war, an attacking force could sustain a far greater proportion of casualties and still remain effective. It may well prove that the only sure active defence against atomic attack will be the ability to strike back with the same or more powerful weapons.

—Daily Telegraph, Oct. 14, 1950

You may sometimes hear the pessimist say: "the bomber will always get through." They said just the same in 1939 yet it was shown how much could be done.

—Clement Attlee, Prime Minister, Oct. 16, 1950.

IT was in 1934 that a British Prime Minister told the people of this country that there was no defence against the bombing aeroplane other than attack upon the enemies' towns and civilians.

The exact words he used: "The only defence is to kill more of the enemy women and children more quickly than they can kill yours," words of tragic and bitter implication, are obviously not forgotten by the present Prime Minister, whose feeble attempt to refute them was broadcast last Sunday evening.

Those words were not spoken in any pacifist context, but simply in order to account to an anxious populace, who still innocently believed that war preparation was purely defensive, for public money being spent on bombers instead of upon fighters. At the same time citizens were exhorted to join the ARP in case there should be a war, in exactly the same way as they are being exhorted now. There was no lack of response then, but significantly, now that the public have gained experience under bombardment it is infinitely more difficult to convince them of the efficacy of civil defence.

## ARP could not save them

While the bombs were screaming down over the cities of Great Britain, while Coventry, Bristol, Clydeside, Merseyside and Plymouth were in flames; while women and invalids, children and old people were burned alive, buried alive, blinded, mutilated and killed, the so-called Civil Defence units, with great courage, selflessness and gallantry, rushed about endeavouring to alleviate the terrible and dreadful disasters.

But it became more and more evident that these helpless people buried in the ruins of their homes, drowned in their shelters by burst water mains, trapped in their factories and offices by raging fires, could not in fact be defended by ARP.

Churchill's answer to the people in the devastated areas was a typical one, and a straight and unequivocal endorsement of Baldwin's original statement; waving his hat and giving the V-sign while standing upon the rubble which probably concealed hundreds of dead, he shouted to the crowd: "We'll give it 'em back."

And that is precisely what was done. Baldwin's words were in fact, true; defence depended, as it does now, upon attacking with the greatest possible violence and ruthlessness the helpless populace of the enemy.

## Learning how to bury the dead

Our own populace are equally helpless, and though the revengeful may take comfort, so long as they are still alive themselves, in the fact that the same thing is happening to helpless people elsewhere, or vic still does not ensure either safety, or victory, and certainly not peace. Learning how to succour the wounded and bury the dead has nothing whatever to do with defence, and in any case, in atomic warfare, there may be none left alive to bury the dead.

The Prime Minister said nothing of this; he contented himself with a pitiful and shameful effort to deceive the people whose welfare his Government is responsible. We are not yet attacked; let us have the confidence, the courage and the charity to allay the fears of the Eastern world with an unmistakable gesture of peace—not the V-sign, but the outstretched hand.

In London on Nov. 9 the Lord Mayor's Show is to concentrate upon Civil defence, to the sound of sirens, whistling bombs, explosions and police whistles the traditional civilian pageantry will attack the apathy of the Londoners. The PPU will distribute leaflets at as many dispersal points as possible. Any who can help in Central London from about 1 p.m. onwards should send their names in to me at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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